

CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC DYNAMICS IN FRANCE AS A REPRESENTATION OF SECULAR STATES IN EUROPE: BETWEEN CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Abstrak

Studi ini mengkaji dinamika Islam kontemporer di Prancis sebagai representasi negara-negara Eropa sekuler melalui analisis wacana kritis untuk mengeksplorasi interaksi antara identitas keagamaan Islam dan prinsip-prinsip sekularisme (laïcité). Studi ini didasarkan pada literatur sosiokultural dan politik yang menyoroti ketegangan yang semakin meningkat antara nilai-nilai keagamaan Muslim dan tuntutan kewarganegaraan dalam masyarakat sekuler modern. Meskipun banyak studi tentang sekularisme telah dilakukan, sedikit yang menyoroti bagaimana Muslim di Prancis mengalami dan menegosiasikan identitas keagamaan mereka di bawah tekanan netralitas negara. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis praktik keagamaan Muslim dalam konteks sekuler Prancis, mengidentifikasi tantangan utama yang mereka hadapi, dan mengeksplorasi strategi adaptasi untuk mempertahankan identitas keagamaan sambil menyesuaikan diri dengan nilai-nilai sekuler. Data dikumpulkan dari laporan berita internasional yang membahas larangan pakaian panjang di sekolah, diskriminasi dalam pekerjaan, dan tindakan anti-Muslim yang semakin meningkat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa diskursus publik di Prancis menggambarkan Islam sebagai 'ancaman potensial' bagi sekularisme, sehingga melegitimasi kebijakan restriktif negara dan eksklusi simbolis. Namun, komunitas Muslim terus menunjukkan resistensi melalui adaptasi selektif dan pelestarian praktik keagamaan di ranah pribadi. Temuan ini memperkaya pemahaman kita tentang hubungan antara agama dan politik di Eropa serta memberikan wawasan kritis tentang pluralisme budaya di tengah meningkatnya nasionalisme dan sekularisme yang kaku

Kata Kunci: diskriminasi, identitas islam, islam kontemporer, Prancis, sekularisme

Abstract

This study explored the dynamics of contemporary Islam in France as a representation of secular European countries through critical discourse analysis to examine the interaction between Islamic religious identity and the principles of secularism (laïcité). It is based on socio-cultural and political literature that highlights the increasing tension between the religious values of Muslims and the demands of citizenship in modern secular societies. Although numerous studies on secularism have been conducted, few have highlighted how Muslims in France experience and negotiate their religious identity under the pressure of state neutrality. This study aimed to analyze Muslim religious practices in the French secular context, identify the main challenges they face, and explore adaptation strategies to maintain religious identity while adjusting to secular values. Data was collected from international news reports discussing the banning of long clothing in schools, employment discrimination, and increasing anti-Muslim actions. The results demonstrated that public discourse in France frames Islam as a 'potential threat' to secularism, thereby legitimizing the state's restrictive policies and symbolic exclusion. However, Muslim communities continue to evidence resistance through selective adaptation and the preservation of religious practices in the private sphere. These findings enrich our understanding of the relationship between religion and politics in Europe and offer critical insights into cultural pluralism amid rising nationalism and rigid secularism.

Keywords: contemporary islam, discrimination, France, islamic identity, secularism

1. INTRODUCTION

The presence of Muslims has triggered deep tensions within European secularism, with France being a critical example (Doyle, 2011). For marginalised communities, Islam has provided a positive identity and social network, facilitating integration despite economic and social challenges (Doyle, 2016). Simultaneously, European societies have responded with anxiety and legislative restrictions, such as bans on religious symbols, reflecting a narrow understanding of secularism that struggles to accommodate religious pluralism (Mavelli, 2014). These dynamics reveal an ongoing negotiation between the traditional framework of secularism and the evolving religious landscape in contemporary Europe.

Laïcité is a principle of secularism unique to France that fundamentally separates state and religious authority, while guaranteeing freedom of religion. This idea emerged after the 1789 Revolution as an effort to build national unity by limiting the role of religion to the private sphere and uniting citizens as rational and enlightened individuals within a collective (Tarhan, 2011). Historically, laïcité developed through several important milestones, such as the 1905 law separating church and state, and the 1882 law on secular education. This principle aims to guarantee ‘the equality of all French citizens before the law, the freedom of all religions, and civil rights guaranteed without religious conditions’ (Baubérot, 2014). However, its implementation continues to evolve and face new challenges as religious diversity increases, particularly in relation to Islam, which has tested the limits of this principle of secularism in the context of contemporary French society (Weil, 2009).

Muslims in France face profound challenges stemming from deep-rooted ideological tensions between the principles of secularism and religious identity, which in turn create complex

political, social and religious conflicts. These challenges are multidimensional: the French principle of secularism, known as ‘laïcité’, often fundamentally conflicts with Muslim religious practices, leading to significant social marginalisation (Zhang, 2023). These tensions are reflected in growing public mistrust, with the majority of French citizens viewing Islam as a ‘threat to the Republic’. Muslims are increasingly subject to stereotyping and social exclusion, exacerbated by the dynamics of the colonial past and contemporary fears of cultural difference (Doyle, 2016). Muslim communities—mostly working class and living in segregated urban areas—face difficulties in the integration process. The younger generation is showing increasingly assertive religious attitudes and is beginning to challenge prevailing social norms (Udasmoro, 2017).

Although many studies have discussed the relationship between secularism and religion in Europe, most still focus on the historical or normative aspects of laïcité without examining in depth the experiences of Muslims as subjects living within the French secular system. This gap highlights the need for a more contextual analysis of how Muslims negotiate the principle of state neutrality and how public discourse shapes perceptions of their religious identity. Thus, this study aims to analyse the dynamics of the implementation and practice of religious life among Muslims in France within the framework of secularism, identify the main challenges faced by Muslim communities in secular Western countries, and explore the strategies of adaptation and resistance they use to maintain their religious identity while adjusting to secular values. To achieve these objectives, this study answers three main questions: (1) how are the implementation and practice of religious life among Muslims in secular France; (2) what are the main challenges faced by Muslims in secular Western countries; and (3) what strategies do Muslims use to

maintain their religious identity while adapting to secular values.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Concept of Secularism and the Principle of Laïcité in the French Context

Laïcité represents the French approach to secularism, which is fundamentally characterised by a strict constitutional separation between state and religion. Rooted in the principles of the French Revolution, laïcité emerged as a mechanism to abolish ecclesiastical privileges while guaranteeing freedom of conscience (Baubérot, 2014). The 1905 law was the concrete embodiment of this principle, requiring state neutrality towards religious practices while ensuring individual freedom of religion (Alouane, 2015). However, contemporary interpretations reveal a complex evolution, in which laïcité increasingly functions as a tool for defining national identity, particularly in the face of religious diversity (Prades, 2020). Recent studies show that although laïcité was initially intended to protect religious neutrality, this principle has transformed into a mechanism for managing religious pluralism, particularly in relation to Muslim communities in France (Lizotte, 2020).

Contemporary secularism in France (laïcité) has become an increasingly controversial issue, marked by growing tensions between republican principles and the visibility of Muslim religious practices. Recent studies reveal a complex landscape in which the principle of secularism is often used as a tool to suppress Muslim communities (Chambers-Samadi, 2017). The French context has seen various legislative interventions, such as the 2021 law on 'strengthening respect for the principles of the Republic,' which explicitly targets what President Macron calls 'Islamic separatism.' The law, passed on 24 August 2021, reflects a comprehensive approach to responding to challenges perceived to arise from Muslim

communities (Tira, 2021). It includes various strategic measures, such as: increased government control over Muslim associations, mosques and charities; licensing requirements for home schooling; restrictions on online expression; and the prohibition of practices such as 'virginity certificates' (Khemilat, 2023). Most Muslim communities and religious leaders in France initially supported the proposal, although about a third of Muslim organisations rejected it (Alexander, 2021). Critics argue that the law disproportionately targets the Muslim population under the pretext of defending secularism and equality (Wolfreys, 2023).

Muslim Identity and Representation in Secular Public Spaces

Muslims in secular public spaces face profound challenges related to identity and belonging, characterised by systemic exclusion, persistent stereotypes, and complex negotiations of cultural citizenship. Various studies show the complex dynamics of Muslim integration. A study by LAHDILI dll (2020) shows how French secularism portrays Muslims as 'unintegrated' and 'unworthy', thereby questioning their sense of nationality. Research by Morey dan Yaqin (2011) reveals widespread media stereotypes that simplify the diversity of Muslims into caricatures of 'fanatics' or 'terrorists'. Salvatore (2004) highlights Muslims' active struggle to transform European public spaces, while Hefner (2019) notes a shift from multicultural recognition towards demands for the exclusion of immigrants. Overall, these sources illustrate how secular societies construct institutional barriers that challenge the full participation of Muslims in cultural and civic life, forcing them to continually negotiate their identity and sense of belonging.

Secularism fundamentally reshapes Muslim religious expression by creating complex dynamics of adaptation, suppression, and negotiation of identity in the public sphere. Various studies show that secular policies have a

significant influence on Muslim religious practices, often through mechanisms of social integration and perceptions of discrimination. For example, the ban on wearing the hijab in France in 2004 had an impact on the educational attainment of Muslim girls while strengthening their national and religious identities (Abdelgadir & Fouka, 2020). In Sweden, Muslim communities exhibit a phenomenon of ‘religious relativisation,’ where religious practices have become increasingly private without experiencing a significant decline (Roald, 2012). A study in the Netherlands further indicates that contact with the majority group can suppress religious expression, while contact with minority groups actually strengthens religious identification (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). These findings collectively show that secularism does not simply erase religious expression, but fundamentally changes the way Muslims articulate and experience their religious identity.

Muslim Adaptation and Resistance Strategies against Secularism

Muslim communities in Europe are developing more nuanced adaptation strategies that balance religious identity with secular frameworks, characterized by pragmatic engagement and cultural negotiation. Research indicates that Muslim communities are increasingly adopting a hybrid approach to integration, reinterpreting religious practices and forming flexible cultural identities (Macey & Clarke, 2024). In France, for example, both Muslim and non-Muslim groups have developed careful discursive strategies to promote religious diversity and social integration (Firmonasari et al., 2021). These adaptation strategies involve carefully navigating secular institutions while maintaining core spiritual values, with evidence pointing to the gradual normalisation of Muslim presence in public spaces (Mudzakkir, 2013). This process is complex, involving individual and collective negotiations that challenge traditional

understandings of religious and secular identities as binary opposites (Salvatore, 2004).

Muslims have developed various complex strategies to deal with secularism, ranging from political activism to cultural adaptation and digital counter-narratives. In France, Muslims mainly use strategies that demand equal treatment and rights, where Belhaj (2022) noted that Islamic intellectuals are striving for a secularism that respects religious autonomy. Doering dan Peker (2022) identified three main response mechanisms: political counter-mobilisation (reactive ethnicity), strategic emphasis on beliefs to avoid discrimination (accommodation), and conditional acceptance of restrictions. Furthermore, (Khamis, 2023) highlighted innovative digital resistance strategies, including the use of humour to respond to negative representations, leveraging digital philanthropy to counter stereotypes, and amplifying the voices of Muslim women to combat misperceptions. These approaches demonstrate sophisticated and multidimensional forms of resistance that are not merely oppositional but also seek to build dialogue, increase visibility, and negotiate culture within a secular framework.

3. METHOD

Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative research design based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the dynamics of contemporary Islam in France as a representative secular state in Europe. CDA is particularly suitable because it facilitates the analysis of language use in media texts, revealing the underlying social power structures and ideologies that shape public perceptions and state policies regarding Islam and secularism (Fairclough, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This study aimed to analyse how international news reports portray Muslim identity, secularism, and related challenges, as well as shed light on the interaction between

religious practices and secular norms imposed by the state in the French context.

Research Context

This study conducted within the context of contemporary Islamic dynamics in France, which represents secular European countries that are constantly negotiating the relationship between religion and the state. This study analyses various representations of discourse on Islam and Muslim identity in the French public sphere through the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study's context is defined by the French model of secularism, or *laïcité*, which historically emerged from the 1789 Revolution and was institutionalised through the 1905 Law on the Separation of Church and State. France was chosen as the primary location for the study because it is considered to represent the most rigorous application of secularism in Europe and serves as a model for other European countries. This study also utilised recent international news reports as data sources reflecting the real social, political, and cultural issues faced by Muslim communities in navigating religious identity under a secular framework. This context provides a comprehensive basis for examining how secular discourse influences state policy and public perceptions of Islam, while highlighting the strategies of adaptation, resistance, and identity preservation employed by Muslims amid increasing tensions between secular and religious values.

Data Collection

The data for this study consists of five selected texts from international news sources published between 2023 and 2025. These texts include reports on the ban on religious clothing in French schools, discrimination against Muslims in the workplace, the rise of anti-Muslim actions, and public opinion surveys on the practice of secularism in France. The news articles were deliberately chosen to capture diverse narratives, reflecting both state policy and public

perspectives. Sources included leading international news agencies such as AP News and specialist outlets analysing trends in Islamophobia and secularism, ensuring diverse and context-rich data for text analysis.

Data Analysis

The collected texts were analysed using CDA techniques to identify discursive strategies that shape Muslim identity and secular state narratives. This analysis follows Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, which analyses texts at the level of linguistic features, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices (Fairclough, 2013). Emphasis is placed on lexical choices, modality, metaphors, and intertextual references that portray Muslims as threatening or resistant subjects in the context of secular France. This process involves coding and grouping verbal data to reveal underlying power structures, ideological formations, and resistance strategies. This systemic approach provided insights into how media discourse contributes to the social positioning of Muslims and shapes public understandings of secularism in a multicultural European context.

Trustworthiness

To ensure reliability, this study applied methodological rigour through transparent sampling procedures, detailed documentation of analytical steps, and triangulation by comparing various news sources and perspectives. Reflexivity was applied by continuously reflecting on the researcher's position and potential biases during the analysis. The interpretive nature of CDA acknowledges subjectivity; however, credibility is enhanced through discussions with peers experienced in discourse analysis and Islamic studies, who review interpretations for bias or distortion. This study is also aligned with established theoretical frameworks on secularism and media discourse. These measures collectively support the reliability and validity of the research findings.

4. RESULTS

This study demonstrates how public discourse on Islam in France manifests itself within a secular framework characterised by tensions between state neutrality and the visibility of religious identity. By applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to selected international news texts, this section highlights the linguistic and ideological structures that shape the representation of Muslims in French secular society. This analysis focuses on how policies, media narratives, and social perceptions frame Islam as a socio-political issue, while also revealing the resilience and adaptive strategies developed by Muslim communities in response to marginalisation. The findings indicate that secularism (*laïcité*) in France, which was originally designed to guarantee neutrality, now increasingly functions as a mechanism of control and exclusion, especially against expressions of Islam that are visible in public spaces. The results of this study are discussed in three main themes in accordance with the research questions.

The Implementation and Practice of Religious Life Among Muslims in Secular France

Excerpt 1

“PARIS (AP) — France’s education minister announced Monday a ban on long robes in classrooms starting with the new school year, saying the garments worn mainly by Muslims are testing secularism in the nation’s schools.” (GANLEY, 2023)

The text revealed the hegemonic role of the French state in controlling religious expression through rhetoric preserving *laïcité*, which was ideologically constructed as a defence of neutrality, but in practice functioned as a mechanism of exclusion. Through the phrase ‘testing secularism,’ the government frames Muslim clothing such as the abaya not as a form of personal spirituality, but as a threat to national identity. This lexical choice signifies a discourse operation that shifts religious meaning to issues of security and republican integrity, revealing

how language is used to legitimise control over Islamic bodies and symbols. From Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, this discourse reproduces the symbolic power of the state by creating a binary opposition between ‘national secularism’ and ‘Muslim religiosity,’ which reinforces a moral hierarchy in which secularism is positioned as a universal norm, while Islam is positioned as a deviation that needs to be neutralised. Consequently, the abaya ban policy is not merely an administrative measure, but a manifestation of an assimilationist ideology that eliminates cultural diversity in public spaces, while also revealing the paradox of French secularism, which claims to uphold equality while restricting the expression of faith and autonomy of Muslims in the secular education system.

The Main Challenges Facing Muslims in Secular Western Countries

Excerpt 2

“If you are a French Muslim applying for a job, you are five times more likely to face discrimination than a non-Muslim. And if you are a Muslim woman donning a headscarf, you have a 1% chance of finding employment.” (Agency, 2023)

This text reveals the structural marginalisation that defines Muslim participation in the French labour market, exposing the Islamophobic bias embedded behind the rhetoric of *égalité*. Statistical emphases such as ‘five times more likely’ and ‘1% chance’ not only present data, but function as linguistic devices that reinforce the systemic exclusion of visually conspicuous Muslim individuals, particularly women wearing the hijab. In the discourse of secularism, professional neutrality is often reinterpreted as the erasure of religious visibility, thereby positioning Muslims, especially women wearing the hijab, as incompatible with the ‘universal’ values of the Republic. Through Fairclough's CDA lens, this discourse reveals the reproduction of institutional power that legitimises exclusion in the name of neutrality. The hijab, as both a

religious and gender symbol, becomes the main marker used by the state to discipline the concepts of ‘acceptability’ and ‘modernity’, creating an ideological hierarchy in which secular femininity is prioritised over expressions of faith. Thus, workplace discrimination does not only mean economic marginalisation, but also cultural silencing, demonstrating that *laïcité* functions as a covert social control mechanism rather than a protector of equality.

Excerpt 3

“French authorities announced on Thursday a 75% surge in anti-Muslim acts across the country during the first five months of 2025 compared to the previous year. Attacks on individuals within this category have tripled.

The Interior Ministry reported 145 anti-Muslim acts were recorded by mid-2025, a significant jump from 83 such acts in the same period of 2024.” (Hespress, 2025)

This text reveals the growing hostility towards Muslims in France, where official data itself serves as an indicator of discourse that signals social polarisation. The phrases ‘75% increase’ and ‘threefold increase in attacks’ describe the intensification of Islamophobia fostered by the normalisation of anti-Muslim sentiment in society and politics. The lexical choice of ‘acts’ by the French authorities serves to bureaucratised violence, transforming human suffering into administrative data, thereby minimising the state's responsibility and erasing the human dimension of the victims. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, this linguistic frame not only records discrimination but also legitimises its continuation by shifting responsibility to the abstract realm of statistics rather than to socio-political causes. The state's position as a ‘neutral observer’ obscures its involvement in creating the conditions that enable such hatred through exclusive secular policies. Thus, the discourse reflects a shift in the function of *laïcité* from protector of religious freedom to a tool for justifying Islamophobic governance. The institutionalisation of such narratives reinforces

national identity through opposition, placing Muslim citizens as ‘permanent outsiders’ in a republic that claims to be egalitarian.

Muslim Strategies for Religious Identity Preservation While Adapting to Secular Values

Excerpt 4

“A recent survey conducted by IFOP (Institut Français d’Opinion Publique) reveals that a significant majority of French Muslims, amounting to 78%, perceive current secularism practices as discriminatory.”

An IFOP survey indicating that 78% of French Muslims view current secularism practices as discriminatory confirms the deep disparity between the republic's ideal of equality and the social reality experienced by religious minorities. Linguistically, the use of the phrase ‘significant majority’ serves as a marker of collective dissatisfaction, revealing the structural imbalance inherent in the practice of *laïcité*. These findings indicate that secularism—originally designed to guarantee neutrality—has evolved into a mechanism that perpetuates exclusion by marginalising visible expressions of religion. The discourse of discrimination felt by Muslims not only exposes the ideological limits of French secularism, but also reflects declining public confidence in its claims of neutrality. Instead of protecting religious freedom, *laïcité* appears to function as a selective instrument of power that prioritises cultural uniformity over pluralism. Thus, this survey data can be understood as a form of collective resistance, signalling the growing awareness of French Muslims of the symbolic and structural inequalities hidden behind the secular framework that ostensibly protects them.

Excerpt 5

“We are all fighting for more inclusive football, which would integrate all women,” Dembelé told Al Jazeera. “We are trying to make people understand that we are female

athletes. It's not because we wear the hijab that we should be excluded from the pitch." (Durie, 2021)

This text represented a form of active resistance by Muslim female athletes against exclusive secular norms in French sporting institutions. Through her statement, 'It's not because we wear the hijab that we should be excluded from the pitch,' Dembelé reaffirmed her agency and visibility, transforming the hijab from a symbol of restriction into a symbol of empowerment and equality. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, this statement challenges the hegemonic narrative that associates religious symbols with incompatibility with republican values. The phrase 'fighting for more inclusive football' serves as both a metaphor and a political position, describing the collective struggle against structural discrimination wrapped in a discourse of secularism that is mistakenly interpreted as neutrality. This linguistic construction shows how Muslim women resist not through confrontation, but through the redefinition of identity and belonging in the public sphere. Thus, this text highlighted a counter-strategy in which visibility, not assimilation, is the path to equality, revealing a new paradigm of Muslim agency in the context of French secularism.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study revealed significant insights into the complex dynamics between contemporary Islamic practices and the secular framework that prevails in France. The analysis demonstrates how French secularism, *laïcité*, historically designed to ensure neutrality in public life, has increasingly become a tool for excluding visible Islamic practices. This exclusion is consistent with previous studies highlighting the ideological foundations of *laïcité* as a means of defining national identity amid religious diversity. In particular, the notion that Islam is seen as a 'potential threat' to national identity and secular values is consistent with

Mavelli (2014) assessment of the ideological framework of Islamophobia in the broader European context, where Muslim identities are often marginalised and considered incompatible with Western values (Doyle, 2011).

Furthermore, this study's focus on the experiences of individual Muslims, particularly in the context of public discrimination, expands the existing literature by demonstrating the real consequences of this discursive framework. Excerpts highlighting the discrimination experienced by Muslim job seekers, especially women wearing the hijab, revealed a harsh reality consistent with the findings of Abdelgadir dan Fouka (2020), who documented similar employment challenges faced by Muslim populations in Europe. The systematic marginalisation demonstrated by the discrimination statistics observed in this study reinforces the idea put forward by Lizotte (2020), who argued that contemporary secular practices are increasingly expressed through the lens of exclusion rather than inclusion, effectively reinforcing socio-economic divides.

Finally, the adaptive strategies employed by Muslim individuals and communities offer a glimmer of hope amid these challenges, demonstrating resilience and agency in navigating the complexities of the secular landscape. This is consistent with a previous study by Khamis (2023), which discussed innovative resistance and cultural negotiation among Muslim populations in France. The representation of Muslim female athletes challenging exclusionary practices in sports signifies a broader trend towards asserting identity and agency in public spaces. Given these findings, it becomes clear that despite the profound challenges, opportunities for dialogue, adaptation, and cultural exchange remain, highlighting the dynamic interactions shaping the future of multiculturalism in secular European nations.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has provided a comprehensive analysis of the contemporary dynamics of Islam in France, explaining the complex interaction between the principles of secularism and the religious identity of Muslims in a context marked by significant tension. The main findings show that secularism, particularly through the principle of *laïcité*, has undergone a shift in meaning from a framework originally intended to protect religious freedom to a mechanism of exclusion and marginalisation of Muslims. This study highlighted how public discourse often positions Islam as a ‘potential threat’ to national identity, thereby legitimising discriminatory policies and reinforcing negative stereotypes. Furthermore, the experiences of Muslims in France reveal systemic challenges arising from socio-political exclusion and rising Islamophobic sentiments, particularly towards women who wear clearly visible religious symbols.

The implications of these findings extend beyond the national context of France and contribute to a broader discussion on the integration of Muslim communities in secular countries across Europe. This study emphasised the need for a more nuanced understanding of the concept of secularism, one that is capable of accommodating pluralism and the reality of diverse religious practices in modern society. The main contribution of this study lies in its critical examination of how public narratives shape and are shaped by the lived experiences of Muslims, thereby providing valuable insights into their strategies of adaptation and resistance.

Although this study has many strengths, it also acknowledges its limitations, such as its reliance on news media texts that may not fully represent the life experiences of all members of the Muslim community. Therefore, further studies are recommended to broaden the scope of the study by using qualitative methods that involve direct

interaction with Muslim communities in order to deepen understanding of their challenges and strategies in navigating the secular landscape. In addition, a comparative study focusing on different European contexts could further enrich the discourse on Islam, secularism, and integration.

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